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ON THE

MEANING AND ORIGIN

OF THE

FYLFOT AND SWASTIKA.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

ROBERT PHILIPS GREG, ESQ.,

F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.

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MEANING AND ORIGIN OF THE FYLFOT AND SWASTIKA.

PART I.—THE WESTERN FYLFOT.

IN a Paper read before this Society, 15 May, 1879, printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVII. pp. 157—160, on "The Fret or Key Ornamentation in Mexico and Peru," I showed that this form or symbol was there without doubt emblematic of *water*, and probably adopted independently of Western or Old World influence; and at the conclusion of the Paper I threw out a hint that the *fylfot* or *swastika* was an old Aryan symbol, connected with the older sky or air-gods, as represented by Indra and Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius*, and not found in the New World. Since then I have gone very fully into a further investigation as to the general history and meaning of that ancient and mystic symbol; and believe I have arrived at a satisfactory solution of a question which has long been a puzzle to mythologists and antiquaries; but one which—in spite of the later labours and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, Bernouf, Max Müller, of Ludvig Müller of Copenhagen, and most recently of Mr. Edward Thomas, the eminent numismatist —I believe with Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*), has not yet been fully solved. The chief theories, or those most worthy of being considered respecting this peculiar kind of cross (*croix-gammée*), are the following:—

First.—That it was a purely *solar* device, indicative of *gyratory*, or whirling motion. This theory is based chiefly on the circumstance that it sometimes occurs on certain coins (found, however, on a very limited area) in connection either with the *solar* disc or with the three-legged and three-pronged, or three-footed devices called the *triquetra* and *triskele*. (See figs. 4, Pl. XX. and 24, Pl. XIX.) Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller lay great stress on this. The former writer, who considers it as symbolizing the sun in motion, and as merely a cross with revolving feet, certainly goes too far, as I shall attempt to show further on,

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in making it simply an emblem of the sun itself, or of Apollo, its Olympic representative. Ludvig Müller, while referring it very certainly as standing for an emblem of the "supreme Aryan god or divinity" (and so far I am in accordance with him), yet would explain the origin of the emblem as a mere figure or device also to the *triskele*, which he looks upon as an ancient Aryan and Asiatic device (though in this I do not agree with him), standing for the sun; and that the "supreme god," for which the emblem stood, though to a certain extent accepted by the Aryans in a spiritual sense, sometime or other must have been the sun itself, and have had attached to it *solar* attributes; and that the intended rotatory motion implied by the *triskele* (from which the *fylfot*) meant "the circular movement of the world," equivalent to the actual "course of the sun in the sky," rather than to the actual disc of the sun itself; at least this is the construction I put on Ludvig Müller's words.[a] (See Note *b*, p. 11).

I hope to show that the "supreme deity" that Ludvig Müller refers to is no other than Dyaus, or Zeus and Jupiter, the great sky and air-god, they, the Aryans, not being worshippers of the sun in the proper sense of the term; nor was there occasion to represent the emblem of this their great sky and air-god as having a *rotatory* movement; they had the circle, to represent the disc of the sun, and to which they could attach as many rays, straight or curved, as their fancy dictated. The air or sky is *fixed* and does not move, but the sun's orb it is which traverses, or "courses with swift feet and revolving wheel." It is also a questionable matter whether the terminal spurs or feet of the *fylfot-cross* were ever intended to be curved, or to form part of the circumference of the wheel or circle indicative of the solar-disc? and whether the *fylfot-cross*, as I shall try to show, may not have more probably naturally arisen from the resemblance to the forked-lightning exhibited by the two component **Z**, of which this cross is essentially composed.

Secondly.—That it was merely a variety of the ordinary cross or *tau*. This view has had an advocate in the writer of an interesting article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1870, entitled "The Pre-Christian Cross." This writer appears rather to have confused the different kinds of crosses, and gives no very definite or satisfactory solution to the meaning and origin of the *fylfot* itself; the cross with this writer being sometimes a sign for water, or for the four rivers of Paradise, or for the four quarters of the earth; in Egypt the cross = Thor , that

[a] See Appendix II. for a fuller account of Müller's paper.

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smote the head of the great serpent; as the *crux-ansata* [a] it was the original *tau*, or "hidden wisdom," and "life to come"; as the *swastika* it was an ancient Buddhist symbol; a symbol of rain with the South American Indians; the Maltese cross primarily signified the four great gods of Assyria—Ra, Ana, Belus, and Hea; the Samaritan letter *tau* was the battle-axe of the Scandinavian Thor, (the northern Hercules); in India and Egypt the cross was associated with the idea of the sacred water of the Ganges and Nile (Canopus?); and was likewise associated with trees and even with the human form, &c. &c.

For myself I much doubt, and most other authorities will agree with me, whether the *Semitic tau* had any connection whatever with the *fylfot* and *swastika*. At a later time the cross may have had occasional reference to the spokes of the solar wheel; or when drawn within the circle (as in fig. 13, Pl. XX.) it may have had a *phallic* significance.

The cross in its simplest form + must necessarily, from its very simplicity and antagonism to the simple circle O, have been not only a very ancient device but one capable of being used to express very various ideas; it would therefore be almost useless to guess at its earliest or special meaning.

Thirdly.—The *fylfot*, and especially the *swastika* of India, have (though doubtless they are identical) been frequently and popularly connected with the idea of *fire*, and as a symbol of the god Agni. Bernouf is quoted by Dr. Schliemann as the chief exponent of this theory, which, as far as the *swastika* is concerned, would make that symbol have its origin in the firechurn or chark, and to be identical in fact with the "mystic double Arani," mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns to the fire-god Agni.

I shall allude more particularly further on to this question, and also see foot-note.[b] Of the great importance of fire amongst the early Aryans there can be no question; it was even by them considered as of greater importance than

[a] The *crux-ansata*, or *tau*, has never been satisfactorily explained; it is called *ánkh* in Egyptian, and is generally supposed to mean "eternal life," and is often given as one of the chief symbols of royalty or divinity. There need be nothing *phallic* about it as far back as the third dynasty, nearly 4000 B.C., where it first appears. The loop or oval may have originally meant life or eternity; and the cross intended to mean extension in length and breadth, *i.e.*, infinity to space, or possibly the tree of life, or the sun rising above the horizon.

[b] For some observations on the *fylfot* and cross, and on the importance of the Aryan *hearth-fire*, see articles in *Frazer's Magazine*, January 1881, and June 1879, by Mr. A. J. Evans and Karl Blind; also an article by Steinthal, in *The Mythology of the Hebrew Nations*, by Goldzihar, on the fire-chark and on fire-gods. Mr. Evans says, "In Caithness the need-fire is kindled by the ancient process of friction." . . . "The yule fire was connected also with the need-fire." . . . "In the Vedas, again, the *fire* appears as the

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the sun itself. The old "Arani" of the Vedas, the soi-disant *swastika,* consisted, however, of only two pieces of wood, one the lower or flat piece, and the upper or upright piece or drill worked with a cord, or *pramantha,* as it was called, of a harder kind of wood, and by the Greeks called *σταυρός* (and whence the Christian cross!) The connection between the *swastika* and the fire-churn or arana appears to be a myth; and if any such double-cross fire-churns are to be found, as some assert, in existing temples in India, they must have been purposely made of that shape (*i.e.* consisting of two pieces below, and a *third* piece of wood or upright stick above), to imitate the sacred *swastika* itself as a holy Buddhist symbol. (See E. B. Tylor's *Early History of Mankind,* on the fire-churn in India, p. 257.) Independently, however, of this matter of the arana and fire-chark, there are good reasons for supposing that both fire as well as water, as the two great purifying elements, have sometimes been associated with the *swastika,* if not with the *fylfot* also. I believe that this may best be explained when we consider this symbol as the emblem of Indra and Zeus, who as gods of the sky and air controlled the thunderbolt and the rain, and across whose expanse or vault the sun and stars, as fiery lights, were seen to move.

The four so-called *nail-heads* (fig. 26, Pl. XIX.), sometimes found with the *swastika* and *fylfot,* were no doubt intended for stars or little fires, and may sometimes lend more of a *solar* idea to that symbol than originally intended; for the sky and air or atmosphere, though containing the sun and stars in a manner,

first man, and forefather of the human race. The family-hearth or tombstone is connected with the ancestral fire and spirits of the fathers of the household." . . . "Not only our Aryan family alone, but many others, were intimately connected with the worship of the fire of the hearth." . . . "The descent of fire to earth from the thunder-cloud was dramatized by myth; as were also in the Vedas the sun and the storm." Karl Blind says, "The hammer of Thor (T) had the shape of one of the numerous forms of the Christian cross; early pre-Christian runic crosses are found. Thor was a storm-god who smote the giant Frost. In Iceland another form of Thor's hammer is found in the shape of 卐, and till quite lately was used as a magic sign. In reality it is the old well-known Aryan symbol for need-fire, and fabled to have been made by Agni, the divine carpenter." . . . "It may also be considered as a tree-shaped cross: Odin hung on a tree-shaped cross, or perhaps on a tree only. This may have been connected with the Indian sacred tree (*soma ?*); partly from the Pleiades, partly from the form of the *tau,* and possibly from the outstretched human form." Mr. Walter Kelly, in his *European Folk-Lore,* has many interesting observations connected with fire, the fire-churn and fire-gods. He considers the divining-rod (*ash*) as springing from the god of lightning, and that it became the *palasa* tree (p. 159). The ash tree was sacred to Thor. The wish-rod is probably the equivalent of the divining-rod, and of the *caduceous* of Hermes, who is sometimes a fire-god or messenger. The Greeks used the thorn-tree for their frictional *σvρεια*; and not unlikely the *pramantha* itself, or upright fire-stick used in drilling, was the ancestor of the *caduceous* and of the myth of Prometheus; some attach a *phallic* meaning to it.

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did not control them, as Indra might be said to do, as regards the rain and clouds and lightning.[a] (See also figs. 12, 31, and 32, Pl. XIX.)

Fourthly.—Some have considered the *fylfot* as not unfrequently meant to symbolise water. (See Waring's *Ancient Ceramic Art*, pp. 16, 82 and 83.) Taken as I have just said in connection with the rain-god Indra, and with Jupiter *Pluvius* his western representative, this idea may have some value attached to it, as likewise with the sun and with fire, but does not offer a solution sufficiently wide to explain all the difficulties and bearings of the case. Water was one of the great *purifying* elements, and was by some of the ancients considered as the source or beginning of everything. The earlier forms of the Greek key-pattern were undoubtedly representative of the waves of rippling water, and was a water-symbol probably; and it is not a little curious and rather here to the point that the *fylfot* itself was not unfrequently found in actual combination with the key-pattern (see figs. 20, 26a, 29, 30 and 31, Pl. XX.), and as though the two more or less had the same significance. (See also Pl. XXI.)

Fifthly.—That it was the special emblem of the old sky or air-god Dyaus, who became the Indra of the Indians in the Vedic time, and subsequently the Zeus of the Pelasgians and Greeks, the Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius* of the Latins and the Thor of the North Western Aryans, the Teutons and Scandinavians. This is the solution to which I myself hold, and consider to be as completely proved as the case will admit of. This idea is one among several others mentioned particularly by Waring, pp. 12, 15, 90 and 91, in his *Ancient Ceramic Art*. It is also powerfully advocated by Ludvig Müller, as I have already stated, who considers it to be emblematic of the *supreme god of the Aryans*, but does not specify the divinity or its connection with the air; and his further explanation of the symbol inclines to a solar interpretation.[b]

[a] It is curious that the *swastika* was not found as a symbol among the followers of Zoroaster, or on the coins of the Sassanian kings 300—500 A.D. on which the fire-altar is so conspicuous a feature. This is against the idea of the symbol having been used for a fire-emblem at an early period.

[b] Prof. Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, p. 12, says, in reference to the older Vedic conception of the idea of a self-existent, omnipresent supreme being, that it was very clearly defined in the time of Manu (700 B.C.), " Him some adore as transcendently present in fire; others in Manu, lord of creatures; some as more distinctly present in Indra, others in pure air, others as the most high eternal spirit." . . . " Subsequently this became Brahmā; which again when it manifested an actual existence was called Brahmā; developed in the world, it was called Vishnu; and when dissolved again into its simple being was called Siva." The older and simpler worship appears to have been better preserved by the Western Aryans, and among the Pelasgians, than among the Hindoos; where the original Dyaus was continued in Zeus; and before the Olympian system of divinities was fully established.

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I shall now proceed to point out the bearings of the argument in favour of the derivation of this symbol rather from Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra than as from Surya or Helios as the sun-god, as well as to certain other points as to how, through the lightning or through its possible connections with Agni and fire, it may subsequently have sometimes received a *solar* significance.

I will commence with the western development of the symbol before entering on the *swastika* as its counterpart in the East; for it will more readily be admitted that the Scandinavian god Thor was the deity most nearly allied to the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter being the god of thunder especially, and his usual emblem was the double-hammer and *crux* Gothica or *fylfot*.[a] We constantly meet with this symbol on Scandinavian, Danish, and North-German pottery, gold and bronze work from five hundred to fifteen hundred years ago or more; and even on Anglo-Saxon antiquities. There is no valid reason for supposing this symbol to have here been obtained either through Roman or Christian sources; it came more probably either as the old hereditary emblem of the sky and lightning god, handed down by their earlier Aryan ancestors from the East; or it may have been brought or borrowed from the Greeks B.C. 400; at the time when, according to the Rev. Isaac Taylor, the *runic* alphabet may have been introduced from Thrace or from the Pelasgians. In any case we have here a very likely key to the original meaning and earlier use of the *fylfot* as representing the air and thunder-god Thor as a direct descendant of the earlier Dyaus and Zeus.[b]

The usual emblems of Thor and Odin appear in fig. 33, Pl. XIX. along with other old Scandinavian devices, as shown in figs. 31 and 32. With fig. 32, according

[a] According to Ludvig Müller the *fylfot* was not identical with Thor's hammer, which was a **T**. But in any case the *fylfot* symbol was constantly used in North Germany in connection with Thor. The **T** is exceedingly rare, according to Waring, as a Scandinavian symbol. I myself have hardly ever come across it. It may, however, be sometimes figured as a **Y**, or *triskele*.

[b] According to Waring (*Ceramic Art*, p. 15), the best derivation of the word *fylfot* might be from "*fiol*," an old Norse word = *viel* in German and *full* in English; and "*fot*," foot, or the many-footed, which is no inapt symbol for the sky-god, Thor, the lord of thunder and lighting. Pindar, in his ode to Psaumis, a victor in the chariot-race of the Olympian games B.C. 452, addresses Zeus or Jupiter thus: "O thou mightiest hurler of the thunder, unwearied of *foot*." In some instances the cross terminates in a kind of foot, as in the three-legged and three-footed cognate symbols seen on Macedonian, Sicilian, and Lycian coins, and might belong almost as well to Zeus or Jupiter as to the sun, as solar-like devices. In Western Germany, Odin or Woden was held in more estimation than Thor. Odin and Thor have some attributes probably in common like Dyaus and Varuna; and Odin, besides being sometimes a storm god, doubtless had solar attributes given to him.

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to Waring, are symbols representative of the crescent-moon, the full-moon (or earth?); the air (*fylfot*), fire (a three-armed curved or whirling device similar to the *triquetra*), and the thunderbolt (possibly also intended for Odin or Thor). Fig. 30, Pl. XX. copied from an old Danish *bracteate* (with the head of a warrior with a raven not given in the fig.), shows the *fylfot* as the air-god just above a zig-zag line indicative of water, but there is no solar disc. Fig. 2, Pl. XX. on an urn from Cambridgeshire, shows also a number of devices, *e.g.* triangles, dots for stars, serpents, &c. with three suns below and a curved meander or water-fret above, whilst a single *fylfot* occupies the centre space, very suggestive of the intermediate air or ether, representing here a divinity or element, held in even greater estimation than the sun himself. Ether, air, and fire constituted the chief old-German or Norse *triad*. The group of small figs. No. 7, Pl. XX. shows a series of early and primitive Celtic devices and marks, chiefly from incised stones found in Scotland, and most of them also noticeable in Trojan whorls. They include the *fylfot*, simple cross, circular discs for suns, the ray-pattern, dots or stars, &c. Some antiquaries, however, consider most of the so-called Celtic crosses as connected with the Christian cross, and not pre-Christian. Fig. 27, Pl. XIX. consists of three concentric circles surrounded with dots and with a *fylfot* in the centre, which might well stand here for a solar symbol, but equally well either for the supreme god surrounded with solar glory, or for the sky in which the sun itself is placed. This figure occurs on the so-called Annam Stone in Scotland, and may be half Pagan and half Christian.

Coming now further East, and much earlier in time, say 1000—1500 B.C., let us next consider the *fylfot* as represented in the celebrated Trojan terracotta whorls and described by Dr. Schliemann in his *Troy* and *Ilium*. I have selected some fifteen or sixteen of these whorls and balls,[a] as figured by him, and

[a] It has been lately argued that these *whorls* from Hissarlik, of which Dr. Schliemann states he dug some 18,000 out of the *débris* of the five buried cities he describes, were *ex votos*, and not spinning-whorls, as elsewhere found and usually considered to be. This opinion is now shared in by Dr. Schliemann himself, I believe, as well by Mr. Edward Thomas, and it is chiefly based upon the excessive numbers of them found, as well as upon the fact that a certain number of them are not perforated at all, and would appear to have astronomical designs inscribed upon them. In the latter case, certainly, they could not have been used as spinning-whorls. But as for the argument based on their great number, I do not see its force at all. Formed in the *débris* of no less than four or five successive cities, the third of which must have been destroyed not earlier than 1200 B.C. and covering in all a space of at least 1500 years, that would not give an average of more than ten or twelve *per annum*, distributable over not less at all events than several hundred houses, supposed by Dr. Schliemann to have consisted each of two or three or more stories, or

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first let us take fig. 1, Pl. XIX. Here we have a well-marked solar disc with rays at the top, with the *fylfot* again in the open space in the middle, very suggestive of the sky or air-god, and having a horizontal and wavy line below, evidently intended for water, close above which again and nearly vertical to it are a number of parallel straight lines, which might well be taken to indicate rain, as they are not directed towards the solar disc at top; and there are likewise a few dots for stars, scattered about, as it might be in the vault of the sky on either side of the terra-cotta ball. In fig. 2 we see a number of *fylfots* above and contiguous to the two horizontal zig-zag lines representing water, along with some rude attempts at animals, possibly having a solar character on the other side of those lines. In fig. 8, likewise representing a solid terra-cotta ball divided into segments con-

households. To most archæologists I believe the greater part of these objects would, found anywhere else, simply appear ordinary spindle-whorls, a little more ornamented possibly, and very little better made ; certainly by no means so good as those from ancient Mexico and from the early Bolognese Etruscan tombs, both of which frequently have the key-pattern. As a rule *ex votos* in clay are rude representations of the gods, animals, men and women, or parts of the human body. The clay tablets mentioned by Mr. Edward Thomas (p. 42), I think from Northern India, and with prayers inscribed upon them, can hardly be classed with these Trojan whorls, or with the rude baked-clay idols found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ. Similar, though rather smaller whorls, are mentioned by Mr. George Dennis in his recent work on *The Buried Cities and Cemetries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 515. He says, " Many pear-shaped and ornamented clay-whorls, pierced vertically, were found in the early Etruscan tombs near Bologna. Count Gozzodini takes them to be little weights attached to the funeral garments to make them hang properly." Mr. A. J. Evans suggests, in a paper in *Frazer's Magazine*, p. 357 (1880), in connection with the old fire-drill or *pramantha*, that these spinning-whorls may have been used as fly-wheels fastened on to the wooden spindle itself, in order to insure greater efficiency in steadiness and velocity; as such it is still used by the Iroquois Indians and Polynesians. With this opinion of Mr. Evans I am quite inclined to agree to a certain extent ; and it will help us to account for the number found at Troy, without going out of one's way to account for them as being *ex votos*, as well as for the tendency on them to exhibit solar and whirling devices. That the early Greeks and Aryans produced fire by the friction of two pieces of wood and worked by a drill, according to E. B. Tylor, is well known; and the myth of Prometheus is said to be connected with it. In reference to this part of the subject, reference may here be made to the curious leaden idol of a female figure with ram's-horns, found by Dr. Schliemann in the Trojan strata (see *Ilium*, p. 337). A rude triangle (fig. 37, Pl. XIX.), intended for the *vulva*, has depicted on it a single *fylfot!* Whether this was intended to represent the *solar* as a reproductive energy, or was here merely used as an auspicious sign, it is not easy now to determine. Might not, however, the 卍 here used have some possible reference to the production of fire by friction ? If the western *fylfot* ever did represent the element of fire, this would be a not unlikely solution in the present case. Nor would it even then be altogether inconsistent with the Zeus, or "supreme deity" theory, inasmuch as there is some connection between fire and lightning, as the favourite weapon of Zeus and Indra. (See Addendum, p. 34, on spindle-whorls.)

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taining a number of dots or stars, on one hemisphere is given a single *fylfot*, very suggestive again of the sky or air-god, or possibly of lightning; on the other side a rude *soma-* (or sacred ?) tree (fig. 8a), the juice of which was sacred to Indra, the correlative of Zeus and Jupiter. The Vedic hymn to Indra, as given by Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, says (p. 17):

> Indra, twin brother of the god of fire,
> When thou wast born, thy mother Adyti
> Gave thee, her lusty child, the thrilling draught
> Of mountain-growing *soma*, source of life, and——

Two other very interesting examples as showing both the importance of the *fylfot* as a symbol in giving to it the chief or central place, as well as from its occupying a central or intermediate position as regards the sun and earth, are seen in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX. and given by Ludvig Müller, representing the one a bronze *fibula* from Cœre in Etruria, and the latter, one from Bœotia. In fig. 18, two *fylfots* in the centre, with two squares for the earth below, and a large central solar disc above, curiously and almost uniquely armed with teeth or hooked-feet like those of the *fylfots* below. Surely every symbol that appears in connexion with the solar disc on these Trojan whorls and Etruscan and other ornaments need not necessarily have all a solar significance! But this is an argument or an idea much pressed by those who believe that the sun is at the bottom of every myth and of every doubtful symbol! Why should the sky and air-god as the supreme Zeus or Dyaus and the rain-giving Indra have had no special symbol in ancient times as well as the sun? and what more likely one, as far as our argument thus far goes, than the *fylfot?*

Curved crosses, &c., like figs. 12 and 13, Pl. XIX. and figs. 4, 24, 33, 34, and 6a, Pl. XX. may or may not be connected with the true *fylfot*, though they would appear to have some reference to the sun or to solar revolution. The difficulty is to decide if the real *fylfot*, rectangularly drawn, was ever intended to indicate a whirling motion or not. That we should not unfrequently see the proper emblems of the two great nature-gods or divinities, viz., those standing for the sun and for the sky or air, and lightning together, is only natural; yet it must not be forgotten whilst investigating these questions that Zeus and Indra were quite distinct from Helios and Apollo.

In figs. 9, 14, 18, 21 and 36, Pl. XIX. we see more exactly the zig-zag signs no doubt intended for the lightning. The ray symbols, in figs. 16, 34, Pl. XIX. and 7, 26, 28, and 30, Pl. XX. are in general considered to be representative of fire.

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In fig. 4, Pl. XIX. we see three flaming altars, as I believe Dr. Schliemann correctly calls them, along with three *fylfots*, suggestive either of two distinct varieties of fire, viz., the hearth (or perhaps the sacred fire) and the lightning, or of the sacred fire of the altar in connection with the *fylfot* as the emblem of the supreme god Zeus. In fig. 5 we see three solar discs, alternating with three *fylfots*, emblematic of or standing possibly for Zeus and Helios, the two as great sky-gods in juxta-position with each other.

In connection with these Trojan whorls, I may here refer to figs. 22, 23, and 25, Pl. XIX. Fig. 22, showing an old Indo-Scythic coin of about 200—300 B.C. on which the *swastika* is placed also intermediate as it were betwixt heaven and earth; Vishnu as the solar-rayed disc on the top-left hand corner, and several animals, one a bull especially sacred to Indra beneath, with the *swastika* touching it, going far to prove the intimate connection probably existing between this symbol and Indra, as the air and rain-god; on the right hand are two symbols appertaining to Siva and Brahma.[a] At that time the god Agni was rapidly declining in importance in India, and there is no reason for supposing that he was here intended to be represented by the *swastika.*

At that time Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva constituted the great Hindoo trinity, and Indra was still a god of national importance. Similar devices occur on many other Indian coins, as also on the so-called sacred feet of Buddha. (See Appendix I. on Indian mythology.)

Nearly contemporaneous with the Trojan whorls of the third city is the *fylfot* ornamentation found on the gold-coated and embossed wooden buttons, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and described in his book p. 260 *et seq.* Fig. 24, Pl. XX. may be given as the earliest and simplest type, dating about 1200 B.C. It will here be noticed that the spurs or feet are curved, giving a rather wheel-like or solar character to the ornament. Too much stress need not however be

[a] Though the bull in ancient times was sometimes associated with solar attributes, and stands as one of the zodiacal signs or stations of the sun, yet in connection with Indra and Jupiter and the myth of Europe it is clearly closely connected with the sky-gods Zeus and Indra. The Rev. G. W. Cox, in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations,* vol. i. p. 437, says: "The story of Europe brings before us the dawn, not as fleeing from the pursuit of the sun but as borne across the heaven by the lord of the pure ether. Zeus here, like Indra himself, assumes the form of a bull." Under the name of the "Wanderer," Zeus and Indra as sky-gods have not unfrequently assumed a solar character. These myths, and the way in which the function or qualities of one god, or triad of gods, changes or tends to run into those of another, are very perplexing, and must, especially in reference to the sky and sun-gods and elements, be carefully followed, as far as they have any possible reference to the history and origin of the *fylfot* and *swastika* emblems in connection with solar qualities or the fire-god Agni.

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laid on this circumstance in proof of the solar origin of the *fylfot*, for in the case of embossed metal-work the artificers would very naturally have so made it, to say nothing of its being curved to fill in the small circuit of the space allowed by the dimensions of an object like a button; on some of these buttons the ornamentation shows serpents twisted together, and so contrived as best to fill in the space allowable. On the earliest Mycenæ pottery, however, about 650 B.C., and also discovered *in situ* by Dr. Schliemann, the usual square form of the *fylfot*, like that found also on the archaic pottery of Attica and of Rhodes, occurs, and in conjunction with the key or water-pattern, and with the solar disc (see figs. 34, Pl. XIX. and 26, 26a, Pl. XX.), and in the latter case in the open space between the solar disc and the meander; as also more emphatically so in fig. 18a, Pl. XX. on the *fibula* from Bœotia before referred to, where a fish is supposed to furnish the water-symbol.

Figs. 19, 20, and 24, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b, Pl. XX. represent typical illustrations of designs on Lycian and Macedonian coins, some of which are fully and specially described by Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Percy Gardner in their papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Part I. 1880, on the *swastika*, and on solar symbols connected with Ares as a sun-god. These are shown by them to be in all probability *solar* or whirling devices; but I fail to see that many of them are necessarily derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from them.[a] The three-rayed or pronged device, usually called the *triquetra*, fig. 4, Pl. XX. occurs very similarly, also with two, four, and even with five arms, figs. 5, 6, 6a, 6b; whilst the true *fylfot* always has four, and the feet or spurs never curved, unless very roughly drawn or under special, perhaps fanciful, conditions. Sir Charles Fellowes considered the *triquetra* may have represented a grappling-iron, a pun on the personal name of Harpagon. Some of the wheel-shaped devices on certain of the early Macedonian coins, Mr. Percy Gardner would rather consider to represent ordinary chariot-wheels.[b]

Dr. Schliemann, at p. 188 in his *Troy*, gives a drawing of a very curious

[a] Mr. Edward Thomas states that a three-rayed device, or *triskele*, probably a solar or fire emblem, occurs on some of the Trojan whorls figured by Dr. Schliemann. I have carefully examined these figures, but fail to find one. There is among the Cypriote characters or syllables, in General Cesnola's work, however, a character similar to Y. The Scandinavian *triskele*, fig. 32, Pl. XIX. refers to fire.

[b] According to Mr. R. Brown, F.S.A. the *triquetra*, as shown in the Lycian coins, and in the three-legged devices referred to in the text, can clearly be referred to the crescent-moon of the Assyrian cult, thrice repeated. If so, the *triquetra* cannot possibly either be derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from the *triquetra;* neither could it even be a solar emblem (see Mr. Brown's very ingenious, learned, and curious dissertation on the "Unicorn," as having a lunar origin and character, published by Longman and Co. 1881). I had not seen this interesting paper until after my present paper had been concluded. The

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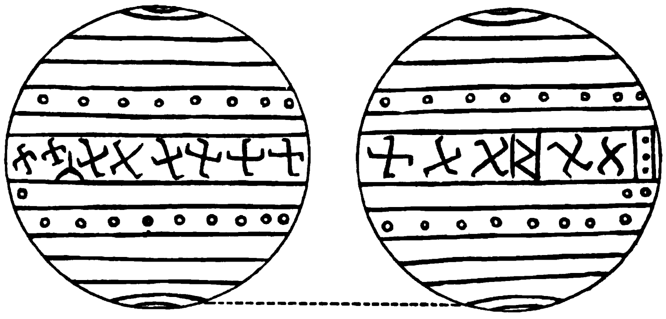
quasi astronomical-looking terra-cotta ball, found at a depth of eight metres, in the third or Trojan city. In all, there would appear to be thirteen rather roughly-drawn *fylfots*, surrounding the equatorial region or centre of the ball; and these are drawn right or left-flanged, without any apparent reason or cause.[a] Dr. Schliemann suggests, very naturally, that the two rows of dots, parallel to the torrid zone, may represent the inhabited regions of the temperate zones according to the oriental theory of Plato; whilst of course the central row of *fylfots* unmistakingly signify symbols of fire, the torrid zone! Surely it would be most improbable that the rude potters, or even geographers of that early period, B.C. 1300, living in a small territory in north lat. 40°, knew of the existence of a torrid zone, or of equatorial regions; they did not then know the earth was even round (see Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*); and what could they know of the colures of latitude as drawn on our modern terrestrial globe? A more reasonable explanation would appear to be that the round vault of heaven was intended to be represented. The conventional rows of dots might indicate stars or planets, and the continuous row of *fylfots* stand in honour of the sky-god Zeus himself as the supreme god. If the sun was however intended to have been symbolized by the *fylfots*, why should not a series of plain circles have been inscribed? or even if the sun revolving on its axis across the vault of the sky, why were not the *fylfots* in that case all spurred or flanged in one and the same direction instead of promiscuously so?



TERRA-COTTA BALL FOUND AT TROY.[b]

form of the moon repeated three times, Mr. Brown of course refers to the three phases of the moon. It also has reference to the three-legged lunar ass, with one horn, mentioned in the Pehlevi work called the *Bundahis*, of the times of the Sassanian dynasties. Some of the Lycian coins, described in Sir Charles Fellowes' work, show the *triquetra* with arms, completely crescent in shape—in fact three semi-lunes, springing out of a small central disc. (See Figs. 24 and 39, Pl. XIX., and Fig. 4, Pl. XX.)

[a] The single zig-zag line in the centre of the medial zone may be intended to represent lightning (the thunder-bolt of Zeus), or, as Prof. Sayce thinks possible, it might stand for the letter *ki* in the Cypriote language (see *Ilium*, p. 349). But at p. 695 it is remarked by Prof. Sayce, in an article on the inscriptions found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann, that an almost identical character is the Cypriote *ve*, which appears (curiously) at Paphos as Z. According to Bernouf, the three dots vertically placed may represent "royal majesty," a term here quite applicable if the *fylfots* are supposed to stand for Zeus.

[b] The Society is indebted for this figure to the courtesy of John Murray, Esq., F.S.A.

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Very interesting examples of the *fylfot* in combination with other devices, often of a solar character, are seen to occur in the very archaic Greek pottery preceding the later and more Etruscan style of art; and of which excellent specimens from Camirus in Rhodes are to be seen in the British Museum, and of which I append a few examples as seen in figs. 1, 15, and 17, Pl. XX. Here the *fylfot* occurs associated with solar and also other emblems (one or two of which probably symbolize the earth); and it usually occurs in the open spaces between or above and below the solar discs, and here again this device may very fairly be taken as emblematic of the air or of the sky-god, or possibly of the lightning. Fig. 8, Pl. XX. represents a jug from Cyprus, with a *fylfot* also in the space above a goose (a solar bird), and a four-rayed cross denoting the sun or earth. Major di Cesnola, Prof. Sayce informs me, once drew his attention to the *swastikas* on some of the Cyprian pottery having the form of a bird in flight, thus corroborating the idea, that that symbol being an emblem of the sky and air-god, it is possible that the "solar goose," so often found along with the *fylfot* and solar disc, may as an aquatic bird have sometimes been figured as much in honour of the air and rain-god as of the sun. About 500—600 B.C. the *fylfot* curiously enough begins to disappear as a favourite device of early Greek art,[a] and is rarely if ever seen on the regular Etruscan vase; whilst the meander, or Greek-fret ornament, would seem to take its place, and may have suggested or been in some way connected with it.

This is suggestive of the *fylfot* being sometimes a rain or water-symbol, the meander or key-pattern having at first been connected with the idea of running or rippling water and waves. I believe Mr. Newton, of the British Museum, also takes this view. Cesnola, also considers the fylfot to be the archaic predecessor of the meander.

That the key-pattern may have had some connection with the *fylfot* is not at all improbable; and it may not unfrequently be seen in combination, as it were, with that device, as in figs. 17, Pl. XIX. and 20, 26, 29, and 30, Pl. XX. Fig. 23, Pl. XX. from Mexico, shows likewise the *zigzag* standing for lightning in conjunction with the key or water-symbol. These illustrations are far more favourable to the *fylfot* being emblematic of the air or sky or rain than of the sun. Fig. 34, Pl. XIX. shows very clearly the double conventional horizontal *zigzag* lines for water, *rays* or the herring-bone pattern for fire, and a cross and dots for the sun.

[a] Possibly owing to the diminished respect and veneration paid to Zeus, as the grand old Aryan bright air or sky-god Dyaus, and to the increased Apollo worship in some parts of the Greek empire and Greek colonies, and extension of the numbers and importance of the other gods on Mount Olympus.

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On the theory that the *fylfot* represented Zeus, as the air and sky-god (the later Jupiter *Tonans* and Jupiter *Pluvius*), it is easy to see it might also have been employed by the Greeks as an emblem of their favourite and greatest god. Subsequently to B.C. 500—600, the worship of the elements as such declined, and the idea of more *personal deities* as Apollo, Vulcan, Neptune, with Jupiter (rather than Zeus as Dyaus), localized on an earthly Olympus, tended doubtless to abolish some of the older Aryan symbols and ideas.

Almost the only instance that I am aware of,[a] of a precise meaning being found attached to the *fylfot*, has been lately mentioned by Mr. Percy Gardner in his paper on "Ares as a Sun-god" (*Num. Chron.* Part I. 1880), having reference to the ancient city of Mesembria in Thrace, where it is said traces of solar-worship have occurred. He states, "Mesembria, as it stands, is simply the Greek word for *noon*, or mid-day (*μεσημβρία*); and there can be no doubt that the Greek inhabitants would suppose their city to be the place of *noon;* and among the coins of Mesembria occurs ΜΕΣ 卐;" where evidently the 卐 stands hieroglyphically as a kind of pun, explanatory of the name of the city. This certainly would appear to connect the *fylfot* with the idea of day-light, if not with solar light, but not necessarily with the actual sun itself, or be an argument in favour of the symbol being originally or altogether a solar one, for we must also remember that Dyaus = Zeus and Indra, where the air or sky, are ideas consistent with light rather than darkness.[b] Prof. Monier Williams, in his translation of a Vedic hymn to Indra, says, "Immortal Indra, unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," &c. It should always be borne in mind that Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra, though probably having some attributes in common with the more solar Varuna, Surya and Helios, and with Agni more or less common to them all, were at different periods essentially distinct ideas and deities among the early Aryans.

With the later uses and adaptations of the *fylfot* among the Christians, and in the West after the Christian era, there is no occasion for me here to refer to, as I wish to trace out and explain rather its earliest and more general meaning and use. It was little used by the Romans and later Greeks,[c] but it has been found as a device of the earlier Etruscans, in *Magna Græcia,* in Cyprus, and in

[a] Mr. Edward Thomas has, however, succeeded, I think, in proving that the *fylfot* or *swastika* decidedly occurs in a solar sense, if not as standing for the solar orb itself, on some coins from Ujjain and Andhra in Southern India.

[b] The *Day* itself being derived from the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, or dyu, as well as the bright sky.

[c] See figs. 28, Pl. XIX. and 16, 18, 18a, and 32, Pl. XX.

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some of the older Mediterranean Greek colonies; in Thrace, as well as Europe generally. In India, after A.D. 400, when the worship and greatness of the god Indra began to decay; and in the West, after the Olympic Zeus had left the higher regions of ethereal space and became localized on Mount Olympus, the *fylfot* as a symbol of Zeus, the sky and air-god, became neglected, and its precise and original meaning to a certain extent lost sight of, and thus it may have come to have been employed either as a solar or a water-symbol, as a fire-symbol, or as a form of the ordinary cross, or as a mystic charm.

In reference to the *fylfot,* then, as an ancient western symbol, I think it may very properly be taken as an ancient and special emblem of the supreme god of the early Aryans, whether as Dyaus, Zeus, Jupiter or Thor, as sky or air-god; collaterally or at a subsequent period it may come to have had other meanings attached to it; and more especially, when connected with stars or dots, have had some special reference to fire, in some form or other. As a device, in combination with the solar disc, earth, water, &c., it is frequently found occupying an intermediate position, suggestive of the sky or air; and this is an important point to notice, as a clue to the real interpretation of its meaning. It not unfrequently seems to indicate a more important element of worship or veneration than even the solar disc itself, as in figs. 1, 2, 18a, Pl. XX., and 1, 3, 8, 12, 22, 31, Pl. XIX. The old Aryans were by no means given to sun worship; and their Dyaus (= Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, and Indra) was the first or supreme god in connection with nature.[a]

I might in this place offer a suggestion in reference to the Greek word *Zeus,* the sky-god, as to whether the commencing letter Z, *zeta,* might not itself have been derived from the *fylfot* as the special symbol of Zeus?[b] The thunder-bolt

[a] Mr. R. A. Proctor, F.R.S. the well known astronomer, says in the *Cornhill Magazine* for December 1881, in reference to the subject of early nature-worship: "I am satisfied that the doctrine of a firmament is one which almost all primitive science recognises, and occupies an important position in the astrological beliefs with which we find it associated, and is in accordance with the minds of children, and with the cosmologies of the North American Indians and South Sea Islanders, who describe their flat earth as arched over by the solid vault of heaven. The Zulu idea is that the blue heaven is a rock encircling the earth, inside of which are the sun, moon and stars, and outside which dwell the people of heaven." The Vedic idea was somewhat similar; Varuna itself meaning originally the solid or covering firmament. It may here be noticed that Dr. Schliemann, in his "Troja," p. 122, states that the *fylfot* has been found in Yucatan and Pueblo in the New World; I should feel strongly inclined, however, to consider its appearance there, as only a very possible variety of the *Key pattern* (see fig. 20 and 23, Pl. XX.), so common in Mexico and Peru. I have never so far been able to find a true example of the 卐 in any work on Mexico, or in any museum; the nearest approach to it resembling fig. 13a, Pl. XIX.

[b] On some of the Trojan whorls we sometimes see a single **Z**, evidently standing for lightning (see fig. 9, Pl. XIX.)

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was his favourite weapon, and the ideograph Z might well and naturally stand for the forked-lightning. The letter Z first, I believe, appears as a letter of the Attic alphabet of the fifth century B.C.; before that time the sound of Z was usually expressed by *ds* or *ts;* and certainly the word Zeus must have been the most important frequently used word commencing with that particular sound. This is much more probable than that the Greek letter Γ, *gamma,* could have derived from this symbol as the *gammadion.* But I leave this to more experienced antiquaries and etymologists to decide. (See fig. 38, Pl. XIX.)

As regards the actual *fylfot* itself, as a mere sign or device expressing the idea of the supreme being among the early Aryan nations, and standing for their Dyaus or Zeus, there can, I think, be little doubt; the only question of interest left open is whether the device arose in the first instance, and as undoubtedly from the simple cross +, by addition of the terminal feet or spurs, representative of a revolving or advancing motion in connection with the solar idea,—or as a simple and natural mode of expressing figuratively the forked-lightning as the principal weapon of the sky or air-god himself. Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller are the most recent and ablest exponents and believers of the former hypothesis. For myself I am inclined to advocate the latter explanation; for I do not see that we need attach the idea of a whirling motion, or even of advancing movement, to the sky and air; nor are the *triquetra* and *triskele* such very ancient or widespread symbols, though probably employed to represent the lunar or the solar motion. I do not, however, see that those two devices are necessarily either the same as the *fylfot*, or that either the one or the other are mutually derivable. (See Note *b*., page 11).

Zeus was especially the great and supreme god of the early Greeks, and in especial favour at Troy: only much later did the worship of Apollo, as in Novum Ilium, Lycia and Thrace, succeed to his importance; and not until after Zeus had, as it were, left the sky and air, and became localized on earth, on the summit of Mount Olympus. After that time the symbol gradually died out, and only to a slight extent adopted in connection with the later Apollo worship.[a]

[a] So very similarly in India, Dyaus gave way to Indra, more especially the rain, lightning, and storm-god, and that again to Vishnu, the later solar representative of Varuna, "the investing sky and the bright firmament." Dyaus and Zeus, as the supreme god of the Aryans, may have subsequently, or by some minor branches of it (that came more under Semitic or Turanian influence), to some extent changed both in name and idea. Ludvig Müller states that among the Lithuanians it is called Perun or Perkun. In Germany, sometimes Thor and sometimes Odin. Among the Gauls, Grannus. In China *Ovan* or *Kuan*, the blue sky, and *tien*, the lord of heaven. Among the Persians, probably Ormuzd. Odin as *Woden* may have some reference to the "Wanderer" in connection with the solar myths.

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Mr. Gladstone says in *Juventus Mundi* that "the Zeus of Homer is the Pelasgic Zeus, also worshipped by the Hellos." That he had special preference for Troy; that (p. 227) "he is governor of the air and all its phenomena, in relation to which he commands the thunder, the lightning, the years, and impels the falling star and the thunderbolt."[a]

Why, then, should we feel surprised that the *fylfot* is so common a device on the Trojan whorls, of which we have heard so much? or that, since the sun himself shines and moves across the sky, we should see this symbol so frequently inscribed in connection with the sun? or with flaming altars, as connected with the oblations offered to Zeus as the sky-god (not to the sun as Apollo) or with trees, the sacred tree in India, among the Southern Indians, being sacred to Indra, the child of Dyaus?

Looking, then, at the solid whorl, fig. 8, Pl. XIX. where a single *fylfot* stands alone in the centre segment of our hemisphere, surrounded with dots for stars, one can almost read, on its little imitative firmament, the very word Zeus itself!

Part II.—The Swastika (or Eastern Fylfot).

I shall now proceed to consider the *swastika* of India, in connection with its western counterpart, the *fylfot* or *gammadion*. It is derived, according to Prof. Max Müller, from the Sanskrit words *su*, well, and *as*, to be. I shall assume to begin with, what has hardly indeed been denied, that originally they both had a common origin and meaning among the earlier Aryans, before they separated in different directions, south and west; for it is neither found as a Semitic or Turanian symbol, nor is it found in the New World. We cannot actually find it earlier than about 300 B.C., sometime after the rise and spread of Buddhism; but as it is generally believed to have been a symbol adopted by the Buddhists, and was especially esteemed a holy symbol among the Jains, a large Buddhist sect, by them doubtless it spread over China and Japan, where it still remains a very favourite ornament and device,—we may fairly assume it

[a] It is now known that the Trojans were of Thrakian origin. The Hittites, who were not a Semitic race, also employed the *fylfot* symbol. (See Schliemann's *Troja*, pp. 125 and 262.

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existed in India amongst the Southern Ayran branch prior to the time of Buddha. Owing to the shifting and changeful nature of Hindoo mythology, both before and after Buddha's time, it is more difficult to trace the meaning of the symbol in India. It would appear at times to have been used as a sun, as a fire, and even as a water-symbol. This may, in part, be explained when we remember how Indra, the rain and lightning-god, is called in the old Vedic hymns "twin-brother of the god of fire." . . . "In vain strive to deprive us of thy (Indra) watery treasures." . . . "Earth quakes beneath the crashing of thy bolts," &c. And as also "the unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," Indra may have had certain qualities in common with Varuna, the "bright and investing firmament," and who, subsequently, developed into Mitra, Surya, Savitar, and Vishnu. Indra is the child or son of Dyaus, and gradually and early took his place, and became more especially the rain-god, where rain was of even more importance than the sun himself. There is no reason to suppose that so great and national a god as Indra had not some symbol or emblem; and there is much in favour to show that his emblem was the *swastika*, no doubt inherited from his father Dyaus, the western Zeus. But whether as the sky-god or as the air-god he would in either case possess and wield the thunderbolt.

In favour, then, of the *swastika* being the emblem of Indra, it may be mentioned that that sign was considered to be an "auspicious sign,"[a] as also the *fylfot* was sometimes in North Germany. Now, in a dry and hot climate like India, auspiciousness would surely more naturally refer to rain than to the sun! I am aware, however, that Max Müller thinks otherwise, and refers this "auspiciousness to the beneficent sun," which is a suggestion the advocates of the *solar* origin of the symbol do not lose sight of.

Dr. Schliemann mentions in his *Troy*, p. 102, that in the epic of the Ramayana, about B.C. 150, it is stated that the ships of King Rama, on their voyage to Ceylon, bore the *swastika* symbol on their prows—probably as being an "auspicious" sign in connection with, or in honour of, Indra the rain and air-god.

Another argument in favour of this symbol being sacred to Indra, and which I have already referred to, is the evident connection between that device, as standing for the air or for Indra himself, well shown in figs. 22 and 23, Pl. XIX. where the *bull*, commonly held sacred to Indra, is in close proximity to and even touching the *swastika;* and where the symbol itself, as an air-symbol, is placed below the sun and above the animal!

[a] See Bernouf and Schliemann.

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It is likewise mentioned that the *swastika*, even in modern times, is occasionally used by the natives in sealing up jars of holy water drawn from the Ganges, and which is opposed to the solar hypothesis. The *swastika* is supposed to have been introduced into China by the early Buddhists about 200 B.C., and is still, as I have stated, much employed there as a favourite device and ornament.

Dr. Bushell, M.D. a good antiquary and Chinese scholar, on Her Majesty's legation at Pekin, informs me that the old meaning of the sign is "thunder-scroll," called *lei wen*, and that it is found in the oldest Chinese bronzes (see fig. 36, Pl. XIX.) This I take it is also another indirect proof of the Indian *swastika* having at a very early time stood as an emblem of Indra as god of the air in connection with the lightning rather than with the sun. As a rule it may be here noticed the Indian *swastika* is almost invariably spurred or flanged to the right hand 卐 whilst in the more western *fylfot* it is ordinarily spurred to the left 卍. In the West it would appear to be a matter of mere accident or fancy, though this distinction throws but little light on its origin or meaning. In India, however, we occasionally meet with the *swastika* flanged leftways; and according to Prof. Max Müller it is then called the *sauvastika*. I do not see that this affects the main issue as to which way it is drawn, though the advocates for its being a solar emblem would suggest that those differences argue in favour of the alteration in position of the sun at the vernal and at the autumnal equinox, or may very possibly have had some reference to the rising and setting of the sun in its diurnal course. This appears to me to be somewhat fanciful, and in all probability the *swastika*, as being in India far more commonly found than the *sauvastika*, is the older sign of the two. It was a symbol in especial use amongst the Jains, a considerable Hindoo sect, and possibly with them it may have had a solar significance supposing they held Vishnu in greater veneration than the decaying Indra. There are a number of *swastikas* figured on the so-called sacred footprints of Buddha, found near sacred shrines (see fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) I believe here they properly refer to the god Indra, inasmuch as the other devices are pretty clearly referable to Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu (in the centre); these footsteps may belong to the age of the well-known caves of Ellora, about A.D. 400. At that time the worship or respect paid to Indra had not yet died out, as was the case with Agni the fire-god. As I understand Mr. Edward Thomas, the oriental numismatist, all the four symbols of fig. 30 either have some solar meaning or represent the sun itself. Siva was hardly a solar divinity however, and that the three principal *swastikas* indicate the morning, noon, and evening positions

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of the sun would hardly in itself prove that the *swastika* itself was a solar symbol; but standing for Indra (not their supreme god as Dyaus once was) it might yet be used in a three-fold or complimentary sense in relation to Vishnu, then the most favoured god, and represented in the centre by the *charkra* or mystic rose.[a]

It will here be necessary to add a few further observations on the often-supposed connection between the *swastika* and Agni as the old Indian fire-god beyond those alluded to at the commencement of this paper respecting the "Arani" mentioned in the old Vedic hymns respecting Agni. Professor Monier Williams in his translation (see *Indian Wisdom*) says, "though thy origin be three-fold, now from air and now from water and now from the mystic double Arani." Again, "displaying thine eternal triple form, as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, as sun in heaven"; and also Indra is called "twin-brother of Agni." There may therefore be some connection between Indra and fire, for Indra was also the lightning-god as well as the sky and air-god; and the lightning and the sun are mere varieties of fire. The fire-churn or chark, though not the same as I have said as the Arana, which consisted of only a single piece of flat wood below, may yet possibly once have had the form shown in fig. 38, Pl. XIX. which might be an earlier form of the so-called Maltese cross; and frequently, according to Dr. Schliemann, found inscribed on the Trojan whorls, though I do not see any such given with the numerous figures of whorls in his *Troy* and *Ilium*.

Mr. A. J. Evans states "that the older *swastika* developed into the wheel, and that Agni was the older form of the Aryan hearth-fire, and took precedence of the heavenly luminous bodies, even before made a divinity"; but perhaps he goes too far in suggesting that the wheel of the sun itself is simply the old Vedic double Arani. Coulange, a French author, states that much of the worship and attributes of fire were afterwards given to Zeus and Brahma; and if that writer is correct it may help very materially my own theory in explaining

[a] Some of the devices belonging to the Indian god Siva are given with fig. 19, Pl. XX. The Indian *crux-ansata*, figs. 9 and 19a, is commonly depicted by a triangle, apex down, instead of by a loop or oval as in the Egyptian symbol. This symbol supposed to indicate eternal life and royalty, may have come to India from Egypt, by way of Persia, and been accepted as an appropriate emblem for the Indian god Brahma, expressive of eternal self-existence, and essence or cause of all things. The upper part, or triangle drawn apex downwards, with the Hindoos, might here however apply rather to the purifying element, water, which, according to Karl Blind, was anciently considered to be the origin of all created things. The *trisul* is generally considered to be the special emblem of Siva; but Fergusson sometimes applies it to Buddha. Furlong and Inman look upon the *trisul* as a purely *phallic* emblem.

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how the element of fire and the god Agni in India were connected with Dyaus, Indra, and Zeus, and how there might have been some early connection between the *swastika* as connected with both fire and air. From the earliest time there was, as I have stated, a distinction between Indra, Dyaus, and Zeus, and Surya, Varuna and Vishnu. Very remotely the oldest and simplest emblem for the sun must have been the plain circle O; and as early, but quite a different emblem, the simple +, was also a common and favourite device, having its own, though not always a constant meaning.

For a full account of this supposed connection between the *swastika* and the solar orb I must refer to Mr. Thomas's interesting paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* before referred to, and of which I give a short account in a foot-note.[a] But with his general conclusions and with some of his instances I cannot agree, as being based on a too narrow and somewhat fanciful interpretation; and especially so with reference to the devices seen on the foot-print of Buddha, already referred to (fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) But on some of the Ujjain and Andhra coins referred to in the foot-note I have admitted that in the *swastika* certainly is used to represent the solar orb itself.

Fig. 29, Pl. XIX. showing a cross with spurs or feet, consisting of a kind of

[a] In a paper printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Edward Thomas states with reference to certain Indian coins from Ujjain and Andhra, in the Deccan, "that the place of the more definite figure of the sun, in its rayed-like wheel-form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *swastika*. The position so taken in opposition to or in natural balance of the coincident semi-lune, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent symbolically the great luminary itself. In seeking for further confirmation of this inference I found that in one instance the *swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four suns of the Ujjain pattern on coins, in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning, as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the sun. I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible sun, or solar disc, in the long list of recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras. The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in their estimation." And again, "Under the advanced interpretation of the designs and purport of the *swastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward, perhaps few archæologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that in this case also its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used conventionally to typify the solar orb itself." I agree with Mr. Thomas that in this instance we have one of the few cases where the *swastika* may be used in a purely solar sense. The Indo-Scythic coins (figs. 22, 23, Pl. XIX.), which I have already referred to, do not further bear thisout, however; here the *swastika* alludes evidently to Indra as the sky or air-god. As Indra fell out of sight his original and proper emblem would be very likely used in other senses and in honour of other gods. Professor Monier Williams says, "Time with the Jainas proceeds in two eternally revolving cycles of immense duration; 1st, the Utsarpini or *ascending* cycle; 2nd, the Avarsarpini or *descending* cycle." Possibly the revolving or circular devices on the Ujjain coins may refer to those cycles, and not necessarily to the sun. Mr. Hyde Clarke, however, considers Siva=Saba=Sabazios=Sun.

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double-tooth-fanged device, has certainly an appearance of circular or whirling motion being intended, possibly in relation to the later fire-chark; and in a way reminds one of the *swastika*. This device occurs, according to Mr. Edward Thomas, on a coin from Ujjain in the Deccan. The toothed device, however, probably belongs to the god Siva, who had not a solar origin. As I have said, if the *swastika* was an emblem of Indra as the air, rain, and lightning-god, there might not unfrequently be some kind of connection existing between it and other kinds of fire, whether of the altar or the solar fire.

It may be a question, after all, whether even the curved rays often seen attached to fires of the solar-disc or circle, suggestive of rotatory motion, may not in part have had their origin in the idea of the whirling of the whorl on the spindle-drill, used in obtaining fire by friction, for the movement of the sun on its own axis could have hardly been known to the ancients. (See figs. 19, 29, 35, 14, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 5, 6, 24, 33, and 34, Pl. XX.)

I must refer to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilium*, pp. 346-353, for much interesting information appertaining to the *swastika* and *fylfot* symbol, and to what also is there quoted from Bernouf, Max Müller, and Mr. Edward Thomas respecting it.[a] Prof. Max Müller, whilst inclined to see in the *swastika* an emblem of the vernal sun, and in the *sauvastika* of the autumnal sun, yet also thinks that "whilst we are justified in supposing that among the Aryan nations the *swastika* may have been an emblem of the sun, there are indications to show that in other parts of the world the same or a very similar emblem was used to represent the earth. Mr. Beal has shown that in Chinese 田 is the symbol for an inclosed space of land, and that the simple cross + (?or more properly ×) occurs as a sign for *earth* in certain ideographic groups. Here, however, the cross may have been intended to represent the four quarters of the sky—north, south, east and west; or, more generally, extension in breadth and length." (See figs. 13, 13*a*, 14, 14*a*, *b*, *c*, 35, 36, Pl. XX.

Here I can hardly think that this ideograph for earth would agree well with any mythological idea connected with the attributes or functions of Zeus, Indra

[a] One can hardly adopt as real argument all the fanciful solar notions given in the Vishnu Puranâs and *Vishnu-pada*, as to the three steps or strides of Vishnu; and the rising meridian and setting sun and the feet of the revolving solar orb or wheel, as alluded to by Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller, as necessarily connected with the *triskele* and *swastika*. The Puranâs were epic poems written hundreds of years after the oldest Rig Vedas. And the connection between the *swastika* and the *triskele* itself is at best somewhat doubtful, only in a very few cases do we find the *swastika* and *fylfot* having any really definite employment in a sense directly solar. R. Brown shows that the *triskele* was a *lunar* symbol.

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and Thor, as air-gods, and whose emblem or device I think I have succeeded in showing was certainly the *fylfot* or *swastika.* However, it would be quite as easy to derive the latter, or 卐, from the Chinese figure 田 for land, as from ⊕.[a]

The old Chinese sign for the *swastika* (fig. 36, Pl. 1.) resembles the letter Z, with a small circle enclosing a + at each end or angle, and called the *lei wen*, or "thunder-scroll," according to Dr. Bushell. [b] Figs. 14, 14c, and 14b, Pl. XX. probably represent some of the Aryan symbols for earth, the diagonals within the circle or square being drawn obliquely, instead of vertical and horizontally.

In conclusion, the best explanation of the *gammadion* (or *fylfot* and *swastika*) symbol would appear to be that it was a much-used and favourite religious symbol among the earlier Aryan races, and was intended by them, in the first instance, to represent in a cruciform form an ideograph or symbol suggested by the forked-lightning, and well shown by our letter Z, two of which crossing each other in the middle admirably represent the ordinary device known by the names of the *gammadion, croix-pattée, fylfot* and *swastika.* The cross itself simply may here also have had reference to the four quarters of the earth or sky. Besides, the lightning, as the chief weapon of Zeus and Indra and the most striking of atmospheric phenomena, would necessarily have likewise been associated other meteoric phenomena, as the rain, wind, clouds, &c. (See Pl. XIX. figs. 1 and 38.)

In India these ideas were centred very naturally in Indra as the rain-giver and the son of Dyaus, who, there at a very early period, gradually appears to have dropped out of sight.

Among the more northern and western Aryan races, these ideas were similarily expressed by Zeus, the direct representative of, and the same with, Dyaus. Still later and further West, Zeus became Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius*, and Thor.

In the words of J. B. Waring (*Ancient Ceramic Art*, p. 116, published 1874), which I shall quote: " As regards the *fylfot* we consider its claim, as the emblem of the sky-god Zeus and Thor, to be pretty well established. But we admit that it may have been used as emblematic of the water-deity."

We have seen that Prof. Max Müller considers it may also have sometimes been used as emblematic of the earth, as well as had sometimes a *solar* connection.

[a] The ladder or step-like device shown in fig. 28, Pl. XIX. on pottery from *Magna Græcia*, is most probably an earth-symbol, and occurs here with the *fylfot.* Very similar figures occur also on the Trojan whorls, and which have not hitherto been explained. (See also fig. 16.)

[b] See also fig. 38, Pl. XIX. probably a Scandinavian emblem for the thunderbolt.

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Mr. Edward Thomas (1880), also a great authority, considers it to be entirely a *solar* sign, and to stand not unfrequently for the solar orb itself. Ludvig Müller, of Copenhagen, who has written (1877) a most important treatise on the *gammadion,* does not doubt but that it originally stood as the emblem of the "supreme being" among the earliest Aryan nations (in which I agree with him); but he makes no express reference to Zeus or to Indra in connection with it, and considers that the feet or spurs of this cross were derived from the idea of *solar* movement through the sky or universe; and that it was through the *triskele, triquetra,* &c. (see figs. 4, 6, 6a, 33, 34, Pl. XX., and 19, 24, 35, Pl. XIX.), both, possibly, *solar* devices (though not so old or widespread as the *gammadion* or *fylfot* by any means), that the latter symbol was suggested and originated.[a]

In Appendix II. I have given a short account of Ludvig Müller's theory and arguments; but, as I have already stated, I prefer explaining the actual origin and construction of this symbol, by its resemblance to the forked lightning. That, perhaps, is a matter only of detail, which may very likely never be thoroughly solved.

I have likewise given, in a convenient form, (Pl. XXI.) and in a somewhat novel way, an attempt in connection with this paper on its bearings with Indian and Aryan mythology to illustrate by a kind of genealogical table the ramifications of the older and chief Aryan divinities and nature elements associated with them, as connected with each other, and with the symbol we have been discussing. And in Appendix I. a fuller account of the Hindoo mythology, commencing with Dyaus, as the sky and air-god on the one side, as distinct from Varuna, the bright firmament deity, and Surya the sun on the other.

As I have before intimated, the old fire-god Agni may have held a somewhat intermediate position, as between the lightning of Indra and Zeus, and the sun as Surya and Mitra.

The argument derived from the intermediate position, in which the *fylfot* and *swastika* are often represented in combination with other symbols, especially those representing the solar orb, or the earth and water, as shown more especially in figs. 1, 2, 22, 23, Pl. XIX. and 1, 2, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 18a, Pl. XX. has never, that I am aware of, before been recognized. It is especially noticeable in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX.

[a] If R. Brown's *lunar* and Semitic or Asiatic origin of the *triquetra,* however, should be established, then the entire argument in favour of the *triquetra* being derived from the *fylfot,* or vice versâ, falls to the ground.

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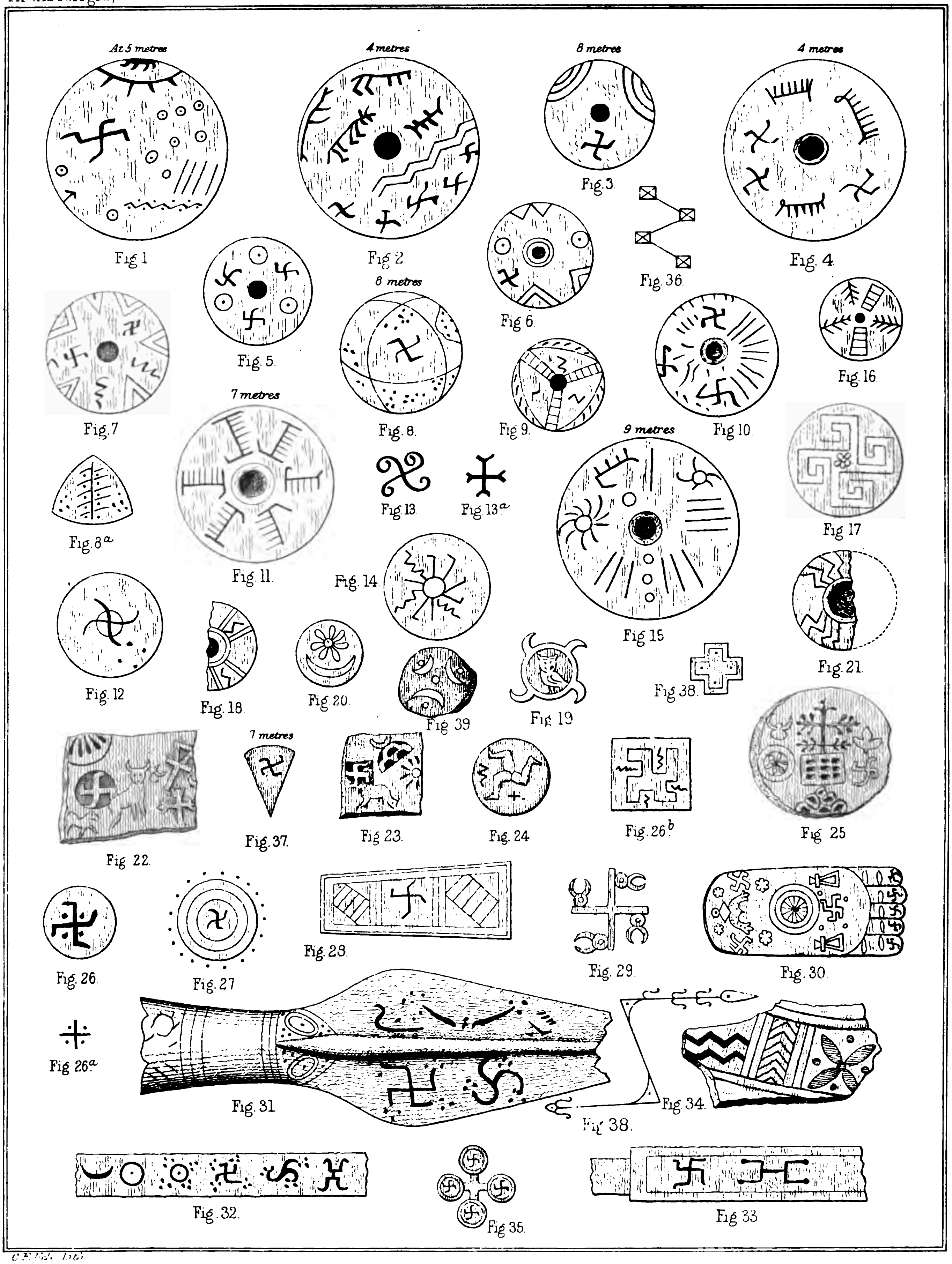

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If the symbol we have been investigating was at first really emblematic of, and the symbol of, Dyaus, Zeus and Indra, then we may very fairly assume it primarily had not a solar significance; nay, even more, for just as Zeus was superior to Helios and Apollo, and to the Pelasgians and Greeks, a distinct deity, so was the *fylfot* and *swastika*, among the early Aryans, evidently once held in the greatest estimation; and the only reasonable and fair inference we can draw is that this symbol was, from a very early time, with the Ayran race a symbol of the "supreme being,"[*] as Ludvig Müller expresses it, and who among these Aryans was certainly not the sun or Apollo; but was to them better expressed or typified by the sky and air; the sky possibly as containing or sustaining the sun, moon, and stars themselves, the air as being the element productive of the rain, clouds, and thunder, and of which the forked-lightning was not the least remarkable phenomenon.

REFERENCE TO PLATES.

Plate XIX.

Figs. 1 to 8, and 8a, 10-12, 14-16, 18-21. Trojan terra-cotta balls and whorls. Schliemann, *Troy*.

12, 13, 13a. Modifications of the cross or *fylfot*. Schliemann, *Troy*.

9. Whorl from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.

17. Coin from Cnossus in Crete. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. Pl. iii. fig 6.

19. Coin from Lycia. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. Pl. iii. fig. 6.

20. Coin from Macedonia (Uranopolis). Percy Gardner, vol. xx. Pl. iv. fig. 17.

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[*] Among the Hindoos Brahma may have for a time expressed to some extent this idea of a "supreme deity," and subsequently to a certain extent Vishnu possibly became among many Indian sects a kind of solar impersonification of supremacy. So also in certain of the old Greek colonies there was a later tendency to place Apollo in the first rank, or even before Zeus; we need not therefore be surprised, as I have already suggested in reference to certain coins described by Edwards, that the *fylfot* and *swastika* may have been occasionally borrowed as a symbol representing the greater sky-god of the earlier Pelasgians. We should therefore be on our guard against a too hasty inference as to the solar origin of the *fylfot*, or that its peculiar feet or terminal spurs were intended to express a revolving movement, whether axial or advancing.

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Fig. 22, 23. Coins from Indo-Scythia. (B.C. 250 ?) Prinsep. See also Waring and Wilson.

24. Coin from Selge, Pamphylia. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, Pl. xlii.
25. Ancient Hindoo Coin. Cunningham (Buddhist).
26. On archaic pottery, Santorin, Ægean Sea. Waring, Pl. xlii.

26a. On archaic pottery, Camirus, Rhodes. British Museum.

27. On the Annam Stone, Scotland. (Celtic.)
28. On archaic pottery in Turin Museum (*Magna Græcia*). (The ladder-like sign standing perhaps for the earth also found at Troy.)

29 and 35. On coins from Ujjain in Southern India. Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. Pl. ii.

30. Foot-print of Buddha (so-called). Amarâvati Tope, India. *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. Pl. ii.
31. Iron spear-head, Brandenburg, North Germany. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, Pl. xliv.
32. Ancient Scandinavian devices. Stephens (and Waring, Pl. xliv.)
33. Devices on a bone arrow-head from a bog in Denmark. Waring, Pl. xliv.
34. On archaic pottery (B.C. 650 ?), Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann.
36. Ancient Chinese ideograph for the *swastika* or "thunder-scroll." Dr. Bushell.
37. On a leaden idol of a goddess from the third Trojan city. Schliemann's *Ilium*.
38. Conventional form of thunderbolt; incised stone, Forfarshire. Waring.
39. Coin of Metapontum, showing the lunar origin of the *triquetra*. R. Brown.

PLATE XX.

Figs. 1, 15, and 17. Archaic Greek pottery. British Museum. (B.C. 650?)

2. Devices on an old Anglo-Saxon vase or urn, Cambridgeshire. Waring, Pl. xliv.

3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b. Lycian coins and devices, showing *triquetra*, &c. (N.B.—According to R. Brown, Junr., the *triquetra* is a lunar emblem.) Fellows, Thomas, and Waring.

5. Ancient Assyrian symbol, of solar disc. (1200 B.C.) Rawlinson and Waring.
7. Twelve small purely Celtic devices and symbols, incised stones in Scotland and Ireland; much resembling similar ones from Troy, &c.
8. Archaic jug from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.
9. The usual form of the Indian *crux-ansata*, with inverted triangle for loop.
10. Indian symbol for water, the triangle apex downwards.
12. Indian symbol for fire, apex upwards.
11. Usual Assyrian form of the *crux-ansata;* derived from Egypt.

13 and 13a. The simple cross and circle, a solar symbol of a mixed character.

14 and 14b. Cross and circle, the former oblique, supposed to symbolize the earth.

14c. Square, with diagonals to represent the earth.

14a. Hieroglyphic letter or ideograph, in Chinese, for inclosure of land, and probably also standing for earth.

16, 18. Etruscan gold and bronze *fibulæ*, found at Cœre in Etruria, showing *fylfots* in open space for the air-god. Waring, Pl. xli. and Ludvig Müller, fig. 16.

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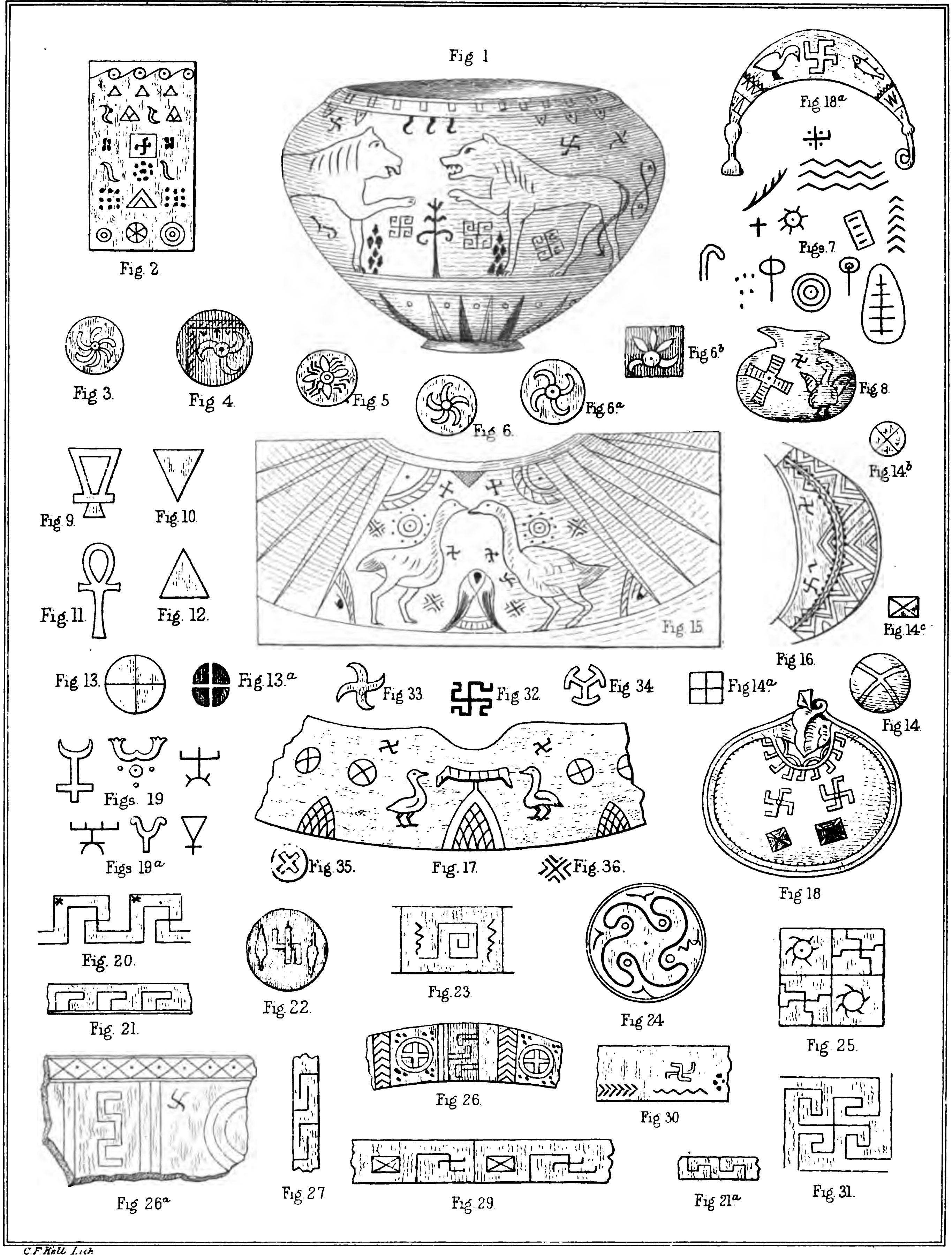

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Fig. 18a. Bronze *fibulæ* found in Bœotia, showing *fylfots* intermediate as between symbols for earth and sun. Ludvig Müller, fig. 8.

19. Five devices, probably belonging to the god Siva. Prinsep and Wilson.

20, 29. Greek-key pattern, doubled or interlocked, showing probable connection betwcen the *fylfot* and meander ornamentation or border. Camirus.

21, 21a, 27. Simpler forms of the Greek-key fret (also in fig. 26).

22. Coin from Gaza, in Palestine, possibly of a solar character. Waring, Pl. xlii.

23. On pottery. Museum of the Louvre, Mexico, typical of water (and fire?).

24. Curved or modified form of the *fylfot*, having possibly a solar character, on embossed gold buttons from Mycenæ. (B.C. 1200.) Schliemann.

25. Devices on modern Japan ware; solar and lightning-symbols.

26. On archaic pottery (*circa* 650), Mycenæ. Schliemann.

28. Devices on an early diota or water-jar, representative of the sun, fire, and water. British Museum.

30. From a Danish *bracteate* with *fylfot*, or air-symbol, standing immediately over the symbol for water. Waring, Pl. xliv.

31. Combination of *fylfot* and key-pattern, common on Chinese, Japanese, and old Roman ornamentation.

32. On a silver bowl, Etruria. Waring, Pl. xli. also in Chinese ware.

33. ? variety of the *swastika*, on coins from Affghanistan. Wilson.

34. Three-armed and semi-circular device. Wilson.

35. Hieroglyph or sign for land, or enclosure. Egypt.

36. Cross, as in fig. 15, standing for earth.

APPENDIX I.

In tracing out the history of the *swastika* it is well to bear in mind that the development of Siva and Vishnu worship is comparatively late. The worship of Dyaus, Varuna, and Agni, and to some extent also that of Indra, became forgotten or changed by the Buddhists. Some of the functions of the gods, whether single or as *triads*, varied from time to time, or was differently considered by different sects, or in different parts of India. Following the works of Max Müller, Monier Williams, Cox in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, and Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, it may I think be gathered that Varuna, originally the investing sky or ether, became the bright and shining firmament, and still later became invested with solar ideas and properties, as in Surya, Savitar, Mitra, and Pushan, and to a large extent in Vishnu himself; at a still later period, some authorities make Varuna a god of the ocean and water.[a]

[a] The goddess Adyti, meaning the Infinite Expanse, became the mother of the bright gods, and especially so of Surya and Mitra.

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Brahma, the infinite and eternal essence and mysterious source of life, and even creator of all things, by some was considered = Dyaus + Varuna + Agni, and formed the first person of the great Hindoo trinity—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. By some, Brahma himself was even looked upon as himself all these three. I take it that the *crux-ansata* (see fig. 9, Pl. XX.) was at a later time intended to represent the god, or supreme idea, Brahma. The *trisul* and trident, the crescent-moon and the three-lobed *lotus*, were commonly employed as emblems of Siva, and the mystic rose, *charkra*, or many-rayed solar wheel-like disc, stood for Vishnu. With some, the lotus, trident, and *trisul* as well as *swastika* were *phallic*.

The *swastika*, as I have attempted to show, was in all probability the symbol or ordinary device of Indra as well as that of Zeus. Vishnu was sometimes = Indra + Surya or Savitar. Surya or Savitar was probably older than Vishnu, and was sometimes called the eye of Mitra and Agni. Agni must have occasionally been associated with solar attributes. Siva by some was once connected with Agni; but more certainly according to others, and earlier, with Rudra, a storm-god connected with Indra. Subsequently and much later, Siva-worship to some extent even supplanted Vishnu, and in so doing possibly borrowed some of the generative and quickening influence attached to the solar-power, and thus became more of a "beneficient god," and his worship thoroughly imbued with *lingam*-worship. Siva is said indeed to have manifested himself under eight forms, viz., ether, air, fire, water, earth, sun, moon, and the sacrificing priest. Thus he may be said to have combined the qualities or powers of Indra, Dyaus, Varuna, and Surya; and should we find the *swastika* in connection with the symbols of Siva and Vishnu we should be careful in attaching a primitive solar significance to it. According to Kelly, Siva = Rudra + Agni, &c.; and the Scandanavian Odin was the successor of Rudra, Siva, and Indra. In some such way there was likewise a certain degree of connection between Thor and Odin, or Woden. I understand from Prof. Monier Williams that he considers the *trisul* of Siva to represent the two feet of Vishnu, with a small central star or boss between. Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, p. 157, says: In the old sacred books of India the *palasa* is triple-leaved like clover or *trifolium*. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this form of leaf, it was meant to typify the *trident*; and a cross hammer with three points are among the oldest Indo-European symbols of forked-lightning, from which sprang the *palasa*, and which is called the *trisulcum*. Poseidon was the Zeus of the sea, and his trident equivalent to his father's *trisulcum*, but there is no connection between Siva's trident and *trisul*, and Neptune's." If Kelly is right, Siva should first have been connected with Indra; but the trident has never been associated with Indra or with the sun. As to "the cross-hammer with three points," spoken of here by Mr. Kelly, it is not quite easy to say if by it is meant the *swastika* and *fylfot*, or the three-armed device of fig. 31, Pl. XIX or a **T**. There does not appear to be much connection however between the trident and the *swastika*, though the **T** may form a kind of link between the simple + and the 卐. The letter **Z**, originally as I imagine the earliest ideograph for the forked-lightning, may be said to be made up of three strokes, two to right and one to left.

There are many matters connected with these and other symbols on which the best authorities have agreed to differ, and which have not as yet been fully worked out. At the time of Manu, just before the rise of Buddha, about B.C. 500 or 600, Indra, Surya, Vayu (as Maruta), Jania, Varuna, Candra (the moon), Agni and Prithivi (the earth), were the chief gods. Vishnu

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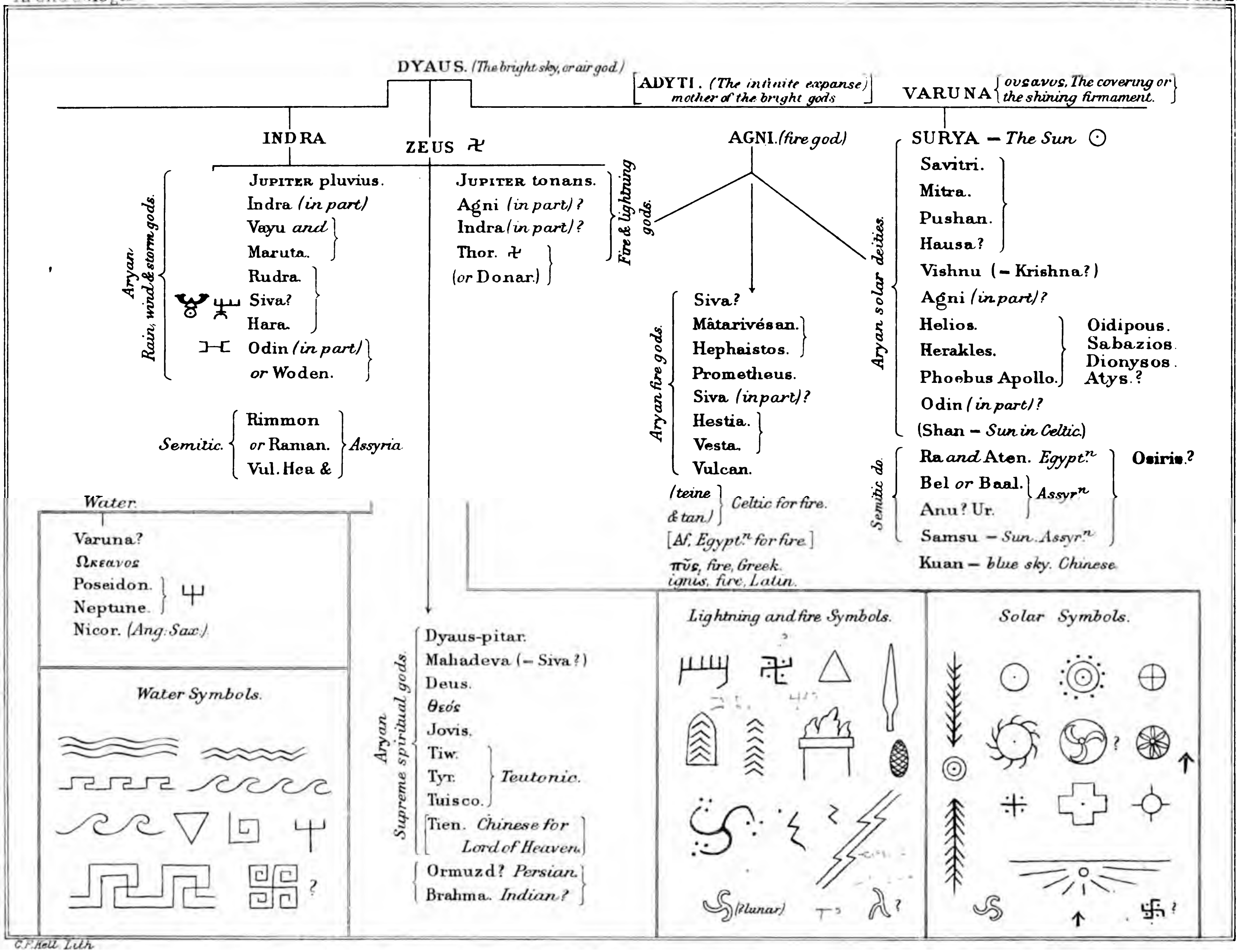

A TABLE SHEWING THE OLDER ARYAN FIRE, WATER & SUN GODS &c.

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and Krishna (later on) were probably nearly identical. I am inclined to think that Vishnu, after 300 A.D. more or less assumed the honours or properties of Indra, Vaya, Surya, and Agni; and sometimes along with, and sometimes independently of, Siva, became nearly = all the gods. Indra, Varuna, Savitar (or Savitri), and Vishnu by turns were supposed "to support the universe." Agni was first born by the friction of two sticks, and carefully fostered by oblations of butter, or *Homa.* According to Cox, Agni and Vishnu were sometimes interchangeable, but this perhaps at a later time; and according to the same authority Indra himself gradually ceased to be god of the sky, but still long kept up his importance as national rain-giver to the thirsty earth. The root in Sanskrit, according to Max Müller, is *indu*, sap or drop, and is equivalent to the Jupiter *Pluvius* of the Latins. Indra is said to "shatter the clouds with his bolts." In one of his quasi-characters, however, as the "Wanderer," the Rev. G. W. Cox considers him "to have solar attributes (vol. i. p. 340), and is the same as the Teutonic Wegtan, and like Odysseus, Sigurd, Dionysos, Phoibus, Theseus, Oidipous, Herakles, and Savitar." But this might be also considered in reference to him as the sky-god; in the main he was essentially distinct from Surya, Helios, and Vishnu; and the air-god in a meteorological sense, rather than as having solar attributes, the *swastika* was the emblem of the first, and the circle or *chark* that of the sun.

Zaski, the oldest Vaidik and Sanskrit exegete of those whose sacred writings are preserved, wrote, "there are three *devatas.* Agni, who resides on the earth, Vayu or Indra, who resides in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and Surya, who resides in heaven." Indra as dwelling intermediately may very possibly have participated in some of the honours or properties of either; and thus their respective symbols became more liable to be confused.[a]

H. R. Wilson in his *Rig Veda* gives a translation of the stanza known as the Hausavata Rich, as exhibiting the genius of more than one myth. "Indra is Hausa (the sun) dwelling in light; Vasu (the wind) dwelling in the firmament; the invoker of the gods (Agni) dwelling on the altar; the guest (of the worshipper) dwelling in the house; the dweller in the most excellent (orb the sun); the dweller in the sky (the air); born in the waters in the rays of light and in the (eastern) mountain of truth (itself)." This is mere rhapsody in praise of Indra. We have seen how pretty much the same ideas and honour were at a later time accorded to the god Siva in his eight manifestations; and this should induce us to being careful in tracing out the meaning of his symbols. It is only by going back to the older Vedas that we are enabled to see the real meaning of Dyaus, Indra, Agni, Surya, &c. and their connection with the western Zeus, Jupiter, and Thor with Helios and Apollo, &c. In the table I have added to this paper I have tried to show some of these relations more clearly. (See Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 425.)

Sometimes "Agni is said to be the cause of all things" (Cox, vol. ii. p. 193). Also, "they call him *The One:* viz. Indra, Mitra, Agni, Varuna, Yama and Mâtrisvan." According to Karl Blind, Varuna was subsequently the god of the waters, or the ocean; and water was considered

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[a] I have particularly remarked in the earlier part of my Paper in reference to certain of the figs. given in the Plates on the importance of the position given for the *fylfot* in these figs. and have pointed out that very frequently the *fylfot* has assigned to it an intermediate or most open place between the sun and the earth.

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sometimes the original element of all things. Fire and water were also looked upon as the two great purifying elements among the southern Aryans.[a] The worship of Vishnu began to prevail about B.C. 300. The age of the oldest Vedic hymns not earlier than 1300 B.C.

In the laws of Manu (B.C. 700 ?) it is stated that "Brahma milked out the triple Veda—Rik, Vajus and Samau—for fire, air, and the sun" (*i.e.* Agni, Indra and Surya, or Savitar).

Homa was the oblation of butter to Agni, and *soma-juice* to Indra, the rain and air-god.

On one of the Trojan terra-cotta balls (figs. 8 and 8a, Pl. XIX.) we see on one hemisphere the 卐 standing for Zeus (= Indra), the sky-god, and on the other side a rude representation of the sacred (*soma*) tree; a very interesting and curious western perpetuation of the same original idea, and a strong indirect proof of the 卐 standing for the emblem of the sky-god.[b]

By the laws of Manu, ceremonies were enjoined to Agni, Varuna, Indra, Sama, and to heaven and earth.

The older Vedic hymns would be very nearly contemporaneous, curiously enough, with about the time of the Trojan war, and with many of the terra-cotta whorls discovered and described by Dr. Schliemann. As I have, however, already stated, the *swastika*, as a symbol, has not actually been found in India or China earlier than about 200 or 300 B.C., though it must have been adopted by or known to the Buddhists many years before that.

According to Mr. A. Evans, the older "*swastika* naturally develops into the wheel (? of the sun), and in early times the hearth-fire took precedence of the sun and luminous bodies before becoming a divinity." The virgin Maya (mother of Agni) is no other than the wheel or lower disc of the old fire-churn or *chark;* and Buddha himself was to some extent identified with Agni. The wheel of the sun itself is simply the old *arana*, just as in the Vedas Agni, the fire of the hearth, is used to typify the sun, or the fire of heaven, and is connected with the revolving augur of Ulysses as a fire-drill."[c]

The difficulty about the *swastika*, and its supposed connection with fire, appears to me to lie in the difficulty of knowing precisely what the old fire-drill and *chark* were like. The best

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[a] See fig. 18a, Pl. XX. where the *fylfot* standing for the supreme god, or for Zeus, is centrally placed between the solar goose and a fish; in this case, possibly fire and water as the two purifying elements might be intended, in fig. 18 a middle station between the sun and earth, exactly suitable to the position of an air-god.

[b] How far the *soma*-tree was the same with the tree of life I am not prepared to say; but Indra was said to have been slayer of the dark serpent Vitra.

[c] E. B. Tylor, in his *Early History of Mankind*, p. 257, says: "The old fire-drill is still used in India for kindling the sacrificial fire. The process by which fire is obtained from wood is called churning, as it resembles that by which butter in India is separated from milk. It consists in drilling one piece of arani-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax, held in the hand of an assistant Brahmin." The Esquimaux use similar means. The ancient Greeks likewise used the drill and cord. (See Kuhn and Stevenson.) There is nothing here, then, of the *swastika* and four nails in connection with the fire-churn.

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authorities consider Bernouf is in error as to the earlier use of two lower cross-pieces of wood, and the four nails, said to have been used to fix or steady the frame-work. At first a single piece of flat wood must have been used, and the upright stick was the second piece of wood referred to in the Vedas. If Mr. Thomas is correct in his idea that the *swastika* was a solar symbol, presenting the idea of a rotatory motion, that should perhaps be rather referred to the wheel or whorl used in conjunction with the chark. But I much doubt whether the 卍 had originally any connection either with the fire-chark or with the sun.

The question of the eastern *swastika* is, however, doubtless a more complicated one than that of the more western *fylfot*, its counterpart.

APPENDIX II.

Ludvig Müller, in his important treatise on the *croix-gammée* or *fylfot*, published at Copenhagen in 1877, with fifty-two figures, bearing on this symbol, as found in different parts of the eastern and western world, considers it to have been used not only as an ornament (with various later geometric and fanciful additions and modifications) but likewise as a charm or amulet as well as a religious and personal emblem. The oldest known examples are those from Hissarlik, at Troy, and probably Pelasgian. Outside the Aryan race it was probably known only to the Phœnicians and Mongols, and it is not likely to have gone to India and Persia from the Pelasgians; but goes back to the time of the early Aryan dispersion. There are many different opinions as to its original meaning (many of which I have already referred to).

It has, according to Ludvig Müller, no connection with the *tau*, or with the *crux-ansata*, or with the fire-chark, arana, or with Agni, or with certain mystic or alphabetic letters, nor with the so-called spokes even of the *solar* wheel, or with the forked-lightning, nor even with the hammer of Thor, which was sometimes represented by the simpler **T**. Ludvig Müller considers there are certain Asiatic symbols which may throw light on its origin, *e.g.*, the *triquetra* and *triskele* (and which I have already referred to); see figs. 4, 6a, Pl. XX. and 24 and 31, Pl. XIX. where the three-legged and three-footed device or *triskele* (like that known as the arms of the Isle of Man!) evidently indicate "perpetual whirling or circular movement," and which was in Southern Asia Minor, Lycia, &c. (possibly in connection with Phœnicia?), the emblem of "Zeus assimilé a Baal," an inference chiefly to be drawn from certain Asiatic coins (B.C. 400) having a Perso-Lycian character; a few of the Sicilian coins also have similar devices. That the *triskele* is the same as the *tetraskele*, or four-legged and four-footed symbol, and equally expressive of the "gyratory movement of the sun through the sky" (not axial?); and that the *fylfot* may be considered also four-footed and similarly expressive. That it was a "symbol of divinity before becoming a mere solar ornament," . . . "and should be referred to the circular movement of the world, or to the course of the sun in the sky, and may then well be the emblem of the divinity from whom emanates the movement of the universe, as the supreme being, whether of mono-

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theism or of pantheism. As the first of the gods in polytheism, it would more especially and naturally be the sun-god." Looking at it, then, from this point of view, and at the religious belief of the ancient Aryans as a kind of mixture of naturalism and pantheism, that more nearly approached, however, to the idea of a single supreme being and creator of all things, one need not be surprised that the sun-god should have been the principal object of early worship, and that among the early Asiatic Aryans this symbol was in all probability at first the emblem of that principal divinity, supposed by them to include all the gods, and which, by natural preference, would be the sun-god, and that it was so considered by the Celts and Scandinavians.[a] That it was a symbol adopted by the Buddhists expressive of supreme divinity, but was used before that by the Mongols of Thibet, who had probably borrowed it much earlier from the Aryans themselves. In China it is called *ouan*, meaning "everything divinely good." It has been found on Persian coins, and may have been intended as an emblem of their Ormuzd. It was a very old symbol among the Pelasgians; it often occurs on vases, perhaps used for libations to the gods, and on burial-urns, and probably used by them to represent the supreme being as well as the sun, not unfrequently found also on Greek coins connected with the worship of Apollo, though not always four-legged or four-spoked. The head of Zeus sometimes occurs on Greek coins. Possibly it may sometimes have been the equivalent of the *crux-ansata* of the Semitic nations as in Cyprus, where Phœnician and Egyptian influence existed from an early period. But among the Greeks there is reason for supposing that the symbol also may have stood for θεος = deva, as among the older and more eastern Aryans; or for the supreme being, higher even than the gods of Olympus. Among the Germanic nations it may have been more used as an ornament or charm, possibly sometimes for their god Woden or Odin. Among the more Northern Germans and Scandinavians the symbol is found, and also in the *triskele* form, standing for the sun (and fire ?). Thor's hammer was in a ruder form, sometimes a **T** simply. The *fylfot* here probably may have stood for Odin or Freia, and is often found on *bracteates* in conjunction with the head of a warrior and sometimes that of a woman. The symbol, Snorro thinks anciently came direct from Asia, across the Don and Southern Russia. In the North of Europe, however, Thor was more considered than Odin, and was the supreme god, and as such may have in the bronze age had the *fylfot* assigned to him, before even the simple **T** sign, as in the iron age. In Northern Scandinavia the *fylfot* was not employed as a Christian symbol.

I have thus shortly endeavoured to give an *epitomé* of Ludvig Müller's treatise on this symbol, and which in the original embraces some one hundred pages. With reference to his opinions and

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[a] I cannot help thinking that Ludvig Müller attaches too much importance to the sun in connection with the early Aryans. In the Vedas the sun at first occupied the second place, and the sky and air-god along with Indra and Agni the first. Zeus or Jupiter, or their representatives, also generally held the place as the supreme god of the Western Aryans, and as we have seen that referred to the sky and air rather than to the sun, and that the *fylfot* emblem belonged to Zeus. It is surely going back too far to decide whether among the Aryans 3000 to 5000 years ago they may have first worshipped the sun as a simple element.

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statements in connection with the views I have given in the body of this Paper, I may observe that he fails to state that the supreme god of the Vedas and of the Pelasgians was certainly Zeus (= Dyaus), who was the sky and air-god, *not* the sun-god. Whether Dyaus or Zeus was ever the equivalent of the sun, or sun-god, in pre-Aryan times, is going back too far! In considering the *fylfot* as the emblem of Zeus and Jupiter, merely as the "supreme god," Ludvig Müller and myself are agreed ; but in referring the *fylfot* as a device to have originated in a reference to the movement of the sun through the heavens I am very doubtful, and prefer the explanation given in the body of this Paper, that it was a device directly suggested by the forked-lightning, as the chief weapon of the air-god. The Aryans were by no means a race given to sun-worship ; fire, rain, wind and lightning were quite as much thought of, or even more so than the sun, and they even had an idea of a supreme god or creator, in a higher or more spiritual sense, than the other nations at that early time.

That the *fylfot* and *swastika* occasionally did service as a solar emblem, I have admitted and endeavoured to explain.

That the device arose out of the *triskele* and *triquetra*, I do not think can be proved ; it is clear the 卐 was a far older and wider-spread symbol than the *triskele* as well as a more purely Aryan one. (See note *b*, page 11.)

No doubt these three-legged devices may have been derived from four or from even seven-legged or spoked ones, and probably have some direct reference to solar or lunar revolution ; but the *fylfot* 1500 B.C. as first seen on the Trojan whorls, was a square cross, with spurs or feet drawn at right angles, and not curved, save in a few cases where either carelessly drawn or as having some evident reference, negative or positive, to the sun or the round-shape of the whorls. (See figs. 8, 10, 12 and 13, Pl. XIX.) Even in fig. 12, where the curved cross on the circle of the solar orb has a most decided solar appearance, the sun-god and the sky-god both distinct, are doubtless intended to be represented in a close and natural alliance. In reference to fig. 24, Pl. XX. represented on a gold button from Mycenæ (B.C. 1200), I have already explained why the *fylfot* would naturally be given with curved terminations; for the artists working in metal embossment, and with a small round object such as a button, would almost be necessitated giving it a rounded shape.[a]

I have dwelt thus on the matter of the curved feet or spurs of the *fylfot* and *triskele* because it is connected with one of the strongest arguments in favour of the solar origin and meaning of the symbol we have been discussing at so much length; and one on which Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller have touched on very largely in favour of that theory; but which may mislead from its very plausibility, if not at all events very fully considered.

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[a] Fig. 18*a*, Pl. XX. represents a portion of a *fibula* from Bœotia, figured by Ludvig Müller, which at first suggests the idea of the *fylfot* having a solar connection. The hooked rays to the solar disc at the top are evidently copied from the spurs or feet of the *fylfot;* but this is almost a unique instance. The two small lower squares with inscribed diagonals most probably stand for the earth, and, if so, the two *fylfots* will not be out of place in the intermediate space as representing the air-god, and need no more have any solar reference than that the two squares standing for the earth have any solar character about them.

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Considered finally, it may be asked, if the *fylfot* or *gammadion*, was an early symbol of the sun, or if only an emblem of the solar revolutions or movement across the heavens, why was it drawn square rather than curved? The 卍, even if used in a solar sense, must have implied something more than, or something distinct from, the sun, whose proper and almost universal symbol was the circle. It was evidently more connected with the cross + than with the circle O, or solar disc. Whether it had a resemblance, as far as idea or meaning went, with the Semitic *crux-ansata* is just possible, though there is no reason for supposing that even that emblem had a solar origin.

ADDENDUM.

In the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xlix. No. 235, see a valuable paper on Indian spindle-whorls, discs, and seals found near Buddhist ruins, in N.W. India, by H. Rivett-Carnac, F.S.A. These are of clay, some solid, some perforated, and somewhat resembling those from Troy. Mr. Carnac thinks many of these may have been *ex votos*, especially those not perforated. Spindle-whorls however, ornamented with circles, rays, &c., are not uncommon among the remains of the Swiss Lake Dwellings, and in many other parts. When however, found near temples or sacred sites, the *perforated* ones may have not unlikely been used as *momenta* or fly-wheels for the sacred fire-drill. (See Note on page 8.)

Mr. M. J. Walhouse, M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* (see *Trans. Royal Inst. of British Architects* 1880-81, p. 159), has some important observations on the *swastika* and *fylfot*, and in which he also refers to Mr. Hodder Westropp's opinion on that symbol. N.B.—Mr. Walhouse considers that the emblem must have been associated with the sky-god Zeus, Thor, &c. A character nearly represented by the Runic G, occurs in a Pâli inscription (see *Royal Asiatic Soc. Trans.* vol. xx., p. 250). Prof. Stephens, of Copenhagen, remarks that in the earliest *runes* the letter G is drawn 卐. Mr. Westropp draws a distinction between the Eastern *swastika* and the Western *fylfot*, which Mr. Walhouse (doubtless correctly so) considers to be untenable. Mr. Westropp also, rather fancifully, connects the archaic Greek *fylfot* with the four small incised squares on certain of the earliest Greek coins; and that in India it is probably connected with the two Pâli characters signifying, as General Cunningham has remarked, "it is well," and considers it has nothing to do with Bernouf's theory of the fire-drill and chark.

In the *Archaeological Report* on the Buddhist caves of Elura and their inscriptions, by James Burgess (2 vols, Trübner), some reference is made to the *trisula* of Siva (see page 28), which is considered to be the symbolical Buddhist *vajra*, and the *dorjé* of the Tibetan Lamas. In Tibet the *trisula* has four prongs. The *vajra* is said to be the thunderbolt of Indra, but at all events it is a very old symbol. On coins of Elis of the fourth century B.C. the thunderbolt of Zeus is somewhat like the old Buddhist *trisula* or *vajra*, or *dorjé* of the Lamas of the present day. So far Mr. Burgess. It may be remarked that the *trisula* is probably represented as four pronged on many of the Bactrian coins; as the *trisula* was certainly the symbol of Siva, it can hardly have also been the equivalent of the thunderbolt of Indra, a totally distinct and earlier divinity. Sep. 28.

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